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"The main principle of THE FAMILY" [the Pitts and the Addingtons], "is, that all the power and emoluments of the government of this kingdom constantly belong, of right, to the different members of The Family, who, however they may disagree as to the distribution, ought on no account, to suffer any portion of this their inheritance to fall into the hands of any other persons but themselves. This principle seems to be so firmly fixed in the minds of the persons who have adopted it, that, upon whatever arises fairly thereout, they, whenever an occasion offers, argue, as upon a self-evident position. Whoever has paid the slightest attention to their language, must have perceived, that they always talk of the government as of something which is *theirs*; that they reason as if it were admitted, as a matter of course, that some of them *must* be our rulers; and that the only question for both them and us to consider, is, *which of them* are the persons most proper, or, whose *turn* it is, to rule over us."—POLITICAL REGISTER, 5 Jan. 1805: Vol. VII. p. 14.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

FAMILY QUARREL.——When the recent rupture between the Pitts and Dundases and the Addingtons first took place, I was strongly inclined, as were most other impartial persons, to attribute it solely to the aversion which the latter felt at being called upon to follow Mr. Pitt through his measures relative to the Melvilles and the Athols. But, after all that has been now said on one side and on the other; after listening to both with great attention and perfect impartiality; and after making such *inquiries* as appeared to me necessary, and as it came within my power to make: after all this, I must say, and say it with some degree of sorrow, that I am fully convinced, that the quarrel and separation are not to be ascribed solely to the motives alleged by the Addington writers; but, that, on the contrary, no inconsiderable part of the cause, will at last be found, in Mr. Pitt's refusal to give to the Addingtons that share of power and of emolument which they claimed.——Before I proceed to submit to the reader the grounds of this my conviction, it will be proper to continue on the history of the quarrel, as it has made its appearance in the public prints, from the point where we broke off, in p 82, to the present time; and, I must take the liberty, once more to beg the reader's attention to it; for, though the parliament not being assembled renders the subject of less immediate importance than it otherwise would be, we must recollect, that, before six months have passed, it will become a subject upon which every public man *must* form an opinion whereon to act; unless, indeed, he be one of those who have no opinions of their own, or, in the class of those miserable creatures, who, having an opinion, dare not act according to it.——We shall perceive, by making the reference which I have just taken the liberty to point out, that the TIMES newspaper, that is, the print devoted to the Addingtons, had the last word; and, that it concluded its observations, by talking about "the *self-devotedness* of Lord Sidmouth "*sending corruption to the tribunals*;" about "the proud and almost lost convic- "tion that there exists a minister superior "to the charms of power and of office, and "*resolute to obtain justice to his country* at "the expense of importance, emolument, "dignity, and the *beloved presence of an af-* "*fectionate master*;" about "the *sweet* "*consolation* existing in the public heart, "that, *in the cabinet itself*" (wonderful!) "the laws and the interests of a generous "people, bending under the weight of their "contributions, have found *a friend and a* "*powerful defender*." A great deal of this is cant; absolute palaver and blarney, as the soldiers and sailors call it; and, I think it must be allowed, that none of it is very modest. But, before we indulge ourselves in any comment upon this panegyric, let us again hear what the battling partisans have to say for their chiefs and against their opponents.——The first three paragraphs are taken from the TIMES of the 18th, the 22d, and the 24th instant; and the last is taken from the SUN of the 26th.——"The Ex-Jaco- "bin, hardly Ex-Jacobin, papers have made "a violent outcry against another outcry of "their own, namely, that the Prince of "Wales was informed of Lord Sidmouth's "resignation before his Majesty or Mr. Pitt. "We distinctly and unequivocally pledge "our character and credit, that a falser, or "more base and low invention, never yet "insulted the public credulity. We desire "to share the infamy of the desperate party, "that has no hope of preserving any corner "in the opinion of the public, if we do not "speak the naked truth, in asserting, that "his Royal Highness was not informed of "that event till many hours after it had "taken place, and then not officially, or by "any authority, commission, or message "whatsoever; and that the communication "alluded to (such as it was) did not reach

" his Royal Highness till many days after " Mr. Pitt had been distinctly, and repeatedly, and finally informed of the necessity " and resolution which had been taken to " resign. We are assured too, that when " it did take place, it was preceded and accompanied by all the usual forms and attentions due to the Sovereign. The best " informed persons have asserted, that Mr. " Pitt knew the hour and the moment of " it, and had it confirmed in the audience " he had the honour of receiving immediately after Lord Sidmouth. The clerks " of the council, it is observed with the " same ridiculous and impotent malice, " were made acquainted with it, upon Lord " Sidmouth's coming out of the closet! " Was his lordship to suffer Sir Stephen " Cottrell and Mr. Falkner to wait upon " him the next morning with the papers " and business of the privy council, because " it was beneath him to explain himself to " clerks? The clerks of his Majesty's privy " council have surely a right to be treated " as gentlemen, and it is the duty of those " who resign offices, to decline receiving " official confidence and communications. " We confine ourselves to plain facts; we " leave to the partisans of corruption to distort and overwhelm the truth by false " lights and impartial statements, and redundance of wicked words. We assert " again, and will at all times be ready to " prove, *that the whole and the sole quarrel " which has arisen between Mr. Pitt and " Lord Sidmouth, regards Lord Melville " and the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry;* " comprising the attempt to protect the " first against the justice of the country, " and to perplex and weary, and disgust, " the other with insults, invectives, and detraction. Does the public know that the " *present Treasurer of the Navy*, whose litigious and vexatious delays and opposition to the precepts of the commissioners, " was complained of and denounced by " them to the King, and to both Houses of " Parliament, *was placed, by the ministerial " ballot, upon the Select Committee which " has cross-examined and reported against " the commissioners?* Did the most devoted " partisan of Lord Melville and his associates, expect that the lord president of " the council should connive at those oblique and sinister stratagems to overwhelm " the commissioners in their inevitable feelings and resentments? Did they think his " lordship could have veiled his sentiments " of honour, and character of purity, to " what has been called, by the highest authority of justice, the job of the Athol " interest and family? Of Lord Melville it " is our intention to say nothing more than " we shall be provoked to by the audacity " of his improvident defenders and accomplices; of those who would defeat the " ends of public justice, and the just demands of the people; and who feel no " scruple to defame and belie the greatest " and the brightest characters, the most " distinguished services, and the noblest and " most disinterested sacrifices.——We do " not recollect to have ever seen such a " compilation of misrepresentation and malignity, as is exhibited in an evening paper of Wednesday last, under the head of " 'The Resigning of the Addingtons.' The " writer, and his masters, and his and their " associates, are stung by the just tribute of " applause so generally bestowed on Lord " Sidmouth, and his friends, for the motives which occasioned their separation " from the government; and they cannot " endure that those respected persons should " enjoy the credit of having resigned their " offices, "rather than screen Lord Melville." It will not, however, we are confident, be denied by Mr. Pitt, that had " they concurred in his wish to "screen " Lord Melville" from any criminal prosecution, those differences would not have " arisen, which were the "real" and immediate causes of their resignation. On " the part of Lord Sidmouth there was no " attempt, or "desire, to dictate, and domineer in the cabinet:" it was the fundamental diversity of opinion between his " lordship and Mr. Pitt, upon the point " arising out of the Tenth Report, and the " line of conduct to be consequently taken " in parliament, which led to the late " changes in the government. The writer " in question endeavours to involve the " friends of Lord Sidmouth in an inconsistency, in consequence of their vote of " the 8th of April. But this attempt is contradicted by facts notorious to every member of the House of Commons. It is not " true, that "they would not vote Lord " Melville guilty of a gross violation of the " law, and a high breach of duty;" but " they were decidedly of opinion that no " judgment ought to be passed on any part " of Lord Melville's conduct, till the whole " had been investigated by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, so constituted as to be free from the possible imputation of bias, or partiality—a line of " conduct, which every dispassionate man " now regrets was not adopted, as that " which ultimately was best suited to the " attainment of strict justice between

" public and Lord Melville. But the au-
" dacity of this writer is carried to its high-
" est pitch, when he ventures to ask, " Is
" not Lord Melville given up by the cabi-
" net?" and when he asserts, that " the
" cabinet have given Lord Melville up to
" impeachment." It is notorious, that Mr.
" Pitt and his adherents endeavoured to pre-
" vent any process whatever against Lord
" Melville, either by impeachment or cri-
" minal information: but they proved, by
" their votes on Mr. Bond's motion for an
" amendment, that of the two modes, they
" were most averse to the former. They
" afterwards, however, changed their minds,
" and when a large proportion of the ma-
" jority, who voted for a criminal prosecu-
" tion, had left London, a motion for re-
" scinding the resolution of the former
" night was brought forward, and in a
" House composed of not many more mem-
" bers than the majority who had divided
" for the criminal prosecution, the vote, by
" which it was ordered, was rescinded, and
" an impeachment was substituted in its
" place—a proceeding of which there is no
" example, and which has sunk deep into
" the mind of every one who feels for the
" honour and consistency of parliament. It
" is, however, to the friends of Lord Sid-
" mouth, and to the members of opposi-
" tion, that the triumph of public justice is
" to be exclusively attributed. Without
" them, the delinquency of Lord Melville
" would have been left to the inadequate
" operation of a civil process; without them
" there would have been no criminal prose-
" cution whatever. They all gave a deci-
" sive proof of their sincerity, by declaring,
" that, whatever might be their preference
" of one mode to another, they would sup-
" port either an impeachment, or an infor-
" mation, rather than forego the certainty
" of some criminal prosecution. This, in
" the language of the Courier, is " a giving
" up of Lord Melville by the cabinet, as
" well as by parliament, to those who had
" pursued him most keenly!" That the
" Addingtons, by their upright conduct, by
" this steady adherence to their public du-
" ty, have given " mortal offence," we do
" not pretend to deny; and it is too mani-
" fest that their continuance in office had
" therefore become impossible. Upon
" whom the imputation of taking others by
" surprise ought justly to rest, the public
" will determine. It cannot attach on the
" friends of Lord Sidmouth; for it is false
" to state, that they brought forward the
" motion for a criminal prosecution, with-
" out the knowledge of their colleagues.
" Their intentions were previously and dis-
" tinctly communicated to Mr. Pitt, and he
" will not deny the fact. The report of
" Lord Sidmouth having made a communi-
" cation to the Prince of Wales, before he
" notified to Mr. Pitt his intention to re-
" sign, or his Majesty had actually accepted
" his resignation, is now so generally known
" to be untrue, upon the most unquestion-
" able authority, that we shall offer no com-
" ment upon it. On the concluding obser-
" vations of this writer, we will content
" ourselves with asserting, that Lord Sid-
" mouth and his friends worship no rising
" Sun. By whom that species of adoration
" is likely to be paid, may, perhaps, ere long
" be discl sed. Lord Sidmouth, and all
" connected with him, feel the respect that
" is due to the Heir Apparent of the British
" Throne; but they know to whom their
" highest duty is owing, and it never has
" been, and never will be, justly imputed
" to them, that they have failed in a firm
" and zealous discharge of it. *Their real*
" *crimes are, independence of mind, consis-*
" *tency of public conduct, and a determined*
" *opposition to personal corruption, private*
" *jobs, and political depravity!!!*"——And
this, observe, from the Addingtons to Mr.
Pitt! The Heaven-born minister!——" The
" calumnies and misrepresentations with
" which Lord Sidmouth and his friends have
" lately been assailed by the adherents of
" Lord Melville, and his associates, have
" recoiled upon their own bosoms; their
" detected lies, their perfidious perversions
" of the truth, and the malignant, rancor-
" ous character of their libels, have clearly
" pointed out the authors to the flagrant
" indignation of the public. It may not,
" however, be superfluous to recapitulate
" the points upon which the " heroes of
" the fifth clause" have undertaken " to go
" forth and be lying spirits" in the mouth of
" all the Journalists. That we may do so
" with the least possible offence to our con-
" temporaries, we shall omit all formal no-
" tice of what they have asserted, confining
" ourselves to what is at length universally
" admitted to be true. It is acknowledged,
" that from the beginning, the very first
" publication of the Tenth Report, Mr. Pitt
" determined to screen Lord Melville.—Se-
" condly. That to prevent this resolu-
" tion, Lord Sidmouth insisted upon and
" carried in the cabinet, that the whole case
" should be sent to a Select Committee of
" the House of Commons, which was not
" to be packed and balloted to whitewash
" Lord Melville, but to be composed of the
" leading members of both sides of the

" House, and of Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and " Mr. Whitbread in particular.—THIRD-" LY. That when the ministers lost this " motion in the House, and the votes of " censure, and for a civil proceeding, were " carried, the Select Committee (although " not chosen as it would have been in the " first case, and fettered from inquiring into " the profits made by Lord Melville from " the naval money) did, in fact, discover so " much (the burning of the vouchers in " particular) as made it impossible for them " (although they chose not to make any re-" port) to screen Lord Melville.—FOURTH-" LY. That the influence of Lord Sid-" mouth, which prevented Mr. Pitt from " the course he intended to take, saved him " the government, and, perhaps, the coun-" try, on the 8th of April.——FIFTHLY. " That from the day of that memorable " vote, Mr. Pitt has omitted no attempt to " snatch Lord Melville from trial; some-" times pretending he had incurred no mo-" ral guilt, and at other times that he had " been punished sufficiently, and always " endeavouring to involve and perplex the " House in their own proceedings, until he " finally cancelled the vote of the greatest " House ever assembled, upon the motion " for a criminal information, and carried " that of impeachment (against which he " had himself voted), by surprise. SIXTH-" LY.—That from the same day to the mo-" ment of their resignation, Lord Sidmouth " and his friends have exerted all their in-" fluence in the cabinet, to prevent this " great abuse, as well as to defeat the waste " of the public contributions, of which they " opposed the last glaring instance in the " case of the Duke of Athol.—SEVENTH-" LY. That, with much attention and civi-" lity Lord Sidmouth and his friends never " failed distinctly to give previous intima-" tion to Mr. Pitt, of all the motions or " amendments they found it imposed upon " them to propose—of the motion for a " criminal information in particular; upon " which occasion Mr. Pitt publicly retract-" ed, in the House of Commons, his asser-" tions to the contrary.——EIGHTHLY. " That when Lord Sidmouth saw all his " friends and colleagues, and measures, in-" sulted and threatened, and calumniated; " and when he determined, in consequence, " to resign his distinguished office into the " King's hands, he superfluously, out of " mere politeness and attention, acquainted " Mr. Pitt with his resolution, both a con-" siderable time before, and at the instant " of his going into the closet. NINTHLY. " —That Mr. Pitt, who had an audience " of his Majesty, immediately upon his " lordship's leaving the room, was informed " of the fact having taken place.—TENTH-" LY. That Sir Stephen Cottrell and Mr. " Falkner, were informed to the same ef-" fect, by Lord Sidmouth, upon coming out " of the King's presence, in order that they " should no longer transmit to his lordship " the papers and business of the privy " council.—ELEVENTHLY. That no com-" munication whatsoever was transmitted " by Lord Sidmouth to his Royal Highness " the Prince of Wales, relative to this event; " and that, in point of fact, no information " (however indirect and informal) reached " the Prince until many hours after the re-" signation had taken place.—TWELFTHLY. " That from the moment of Lord Sid-" mouth's resignation, it has appeared of " the utmost importance to the Melville " part of the ministry, to conceal and belie " the true causes of it."——Thus far the TIMES. The following is from the SUN of the date abovementioned.——" It has been of-" ten observed, that injudicious friends are " likely to injure rather than to serve the " object of their partiality. It has been " also as often observed, that any laborious " attempts to defend a cause, rather tend to " excite suspicions which otherwise perhaps " might not have arisen. Both of these re-" marks are peculiarly applicable to the lite-" rary advocates of Lord Sidmouth, who, " by all their persevering zeal in defence of " his resignation, have drawn more atten-" tion to the subject than the noble lord pro-" bably required, and who have certainly " not illustrated the motives of that resigna-" tion in such a manner as to bring any ad-" dition of credit to his lordship's character. " No less than twelve causes have been as-" signed for his lordship's retirement, not " one of which, we believe, was the imme-" diate cause of it.——For our own part, " we certainly do not think that his lord-" ship possesses any qualities that give him " extraordinary pretensions to public no-" tice, or that would exalt his conduct into " any importance, if it were not for the re-" lation which it bears to the man to whom " he has been essentially indebted, through " life, and to whom this country is under the " highest obligation for having preserved it " from the misery which has befallen many " other states, and which seems to impend " over more.——But, among the reasons " which have been assigned for his lordship's " retirement, it is somewhat strange that " one, which is supposed to have had the " greatest weight, by those who are likely " to receive their information from a less

" partial quarter than the ingenious inventor of the twelve causes, is passed over in " total silence. We beg leave to ask the " friend, if friend he may be called, of Lord " Sidmouth, who so often favours the public with a column or two of panegyric on " his lordship's prodigious services and elevated virtues (the word gratitude is very " properly never mentioned), whether the " immediate cause of the resignation, which " has been ascribed to so many great and " lofty motives, was not the refusal of Mr. " Pitt to appoint one of his lordship's friends " to a high situation under government?— " We presume that the person of whom we " ask this question has it in his power to " give an answer, because he appears to be " so much in his lordship's confidence, that " upon two or three occasions he has presumed to state what his lordship said and " did, even in the cabinet. We are the " more inclined to ask this question, and to " lay some stress upon the refusal alluded " to, because, unless we have been very " much misinformed, when his lordship " some months ago threatened the public " with such a lamentable event as his resignation, the cause of his anger was said to " have arisen from a similar disregard of his " recommendation of another friend to a " seat in the Admiralty. When we hear " the answer of the long-winded advocate, " who, like Yorick's Starling, seems to " have but one cry, though the reverse indeed of that celebrated bird's, we shall " probably be tempted to renew the subject."——When persons of a certain description fall out, "honest men," it is said, "get their due;" a saying the truth of which has now been verified in the quarrels of these political partisans, making, as I evidently do not, any allusion, here, to the principals. Through the quarrels of these partisans it has come out, that every subject of his Majesty, though a minister of state, *ought to treat the Prince of Wales* "*with* "*great attention and respect*;" and, it has further been acknowledged, that the efforts of the Opposition, have been "*virtuous, pa-* "*triotic, loyal;*" and such as are calculated to prevent the people from despairing of being rescued from their present miserable and disgraced condition. The public will recollect, too, that these acknowledgments come from the partisans of the Addingtons; that they come from that same Times newspaper, which has been abusing the Opposition for these four years past, except the short space, last year, while Mr. Addington and his people were out of office; nay, the public should be informed, that they come from the "NEAR OBSERVER" himself, for he is the person who writes the greater part of these articles taken from the TIMES. The other day we quoted some acknowledgments of the same sort from the ORACLE; so that we have now the NEAR OBSERVER and the UPSTART, who upon every other subject are as wide as the poles asunder, concurring in acknowledgments in honour of the Opposition.——The observations to be made on the extracts above quoted naturally divide themselves into two heads: 1. *The time and manner of Lord Sidmouth's announcing the intention of himself and his friends to resign.* And, this part of the subject is now reduced to the mere question, whether his lordship did, or did not, notify his intention to the Prince previous to his having actually resigned. The TIMES says, that "the Prince " was not informed of it, till many hours " after it had taken place, and then not " *officially*, or by any *authority*, *commis-* " *sion*, or *message* whatever." This, says that paper, "is the *naked truth*." Not quite so naked as one could wish it, nor quite so naked as I will now state it, agreeably to the information which I have obtained, and which I believe to be perfectly correct. It is true, that Lord Sidmouth did not make any *official* communication of his intention to the Prince; but, being in conversation with Mr. Sheridan, previous to his having actually resigned, he informed that gentleman of his intention, and, upon being asked, if there was any thing improper in the Prince's being immediately informed of it, answered in the negative. This is the account given by *the friends* of Lord Sidmouth; and, as I before stated, I am fully persuaded, that it is correct. The information to the Prince was not, therefore, "*offi-* " *cial;*" neither was it given to his Royal Highness by any "*commission*" from his lordship, nor was it conveyed in any "*mes-* " *sage;*" but, while the denial of the Addingtons is true as to the *letter*, I am afraid, that, as to the *spirit*, the truth of it will be greatly doubted. What Lord Sidmouth's *object* might be, we cannot be certain; and, most assuredly, to have given to the Heir Apparent an intimation of his intention to resign, would have discovered no want of attachment to the King; but, seeing how very anxious his lordship's partisans are to represent him as abhorring all appearance of "worshipping the rising Sun," it does seem to me, and I think it will seem to the reader, something rather singular, if not wonderful, that he should have chosen Mr. Sheridan for his confident upon this particular occasion. "They met by *accident*." Very

well. But, was it by accident that Lord Sidmouth made known the secret of himself and his friends? Is his lordship so leaky? I have never heard of it before; and, in short, there are few persons who will not be pretty well convinced, that the meeting was not accidental, and that the information to the Prince, though not *officially* communicated, was, in fact, communicated from Lord Sidmouth, previous to the actual taking place of the resignation.——The main point, however, is, 2. *The grounds of resignation, on the part of Lord Sidmouth and his friends.* The Addingtons do, as we have seen, assert, that "the *whole* and *sole* quarrel of Lord "Sidmouth and Mr. Pitt regards Lord Melville and the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry." And, as to this latter subject of dispute, the putting of Mr. Canning into a balloted committee there to *cross-examine* and report *against* the Commissioners is particularly mentioned. Indeed, one must regret, that so good a ground of resignation does not stand clear from all suspicion; for it would have been highly honourable to the parties as well as to the country, that men should be found ready to sacrifice their power and emoluments rather than continue in a ministry by whom such an act had been committed. This Mr. Canning was the very man, of whose conduct in obstructing their inquiries the Commissioners had so pointedly complained to the King and to the parliament; and, yet the ministry put him upon a Committee to cross-examine those same Commissioners; and upon a Committee, too, chosen by ballot, that is to say out of lists made out by the ministers, or their inferiors! This act alone, if Lord Sidmouth did endeavour to prevent it, was a ground quite sufficient for his quitting the Pitts and Dundases. The partisans of these latter assert, however, that neither a regard for the honour of the Commissioners, nor for the success of their inquiries, nor any objection with regard to Mr. Pitt's endeavours to screen Lord Melville; they assert, generally, that none of these were the real grounds of the resignation, but that it proceeded from Mr. Pitt's refusal to gratify the ambition and rapacity of the Addingtons, and, particularly, they state, that "the immediate cause was "the *refusal of Mr. Pitt to appoint one of* "*his lordship's friends to a high situation* "*under government.*" This is, indeed, stated in the form of a question; but, it is put in a way so significant, and, to say the truth, it so perfectly corresponds with what *I have heard* upon the subject, that, I think, there is but too much reason to fear, that it is a fact which the Addingtons can neither deny nor palliate. Neither the "high si-"tuation" nor the "friend" whom Lord Sidmouth had destined to fill it, is *named*; and, as it may possibly be of some use in the developement of this state mystery, I will name both. The situation was that of *Judge Advocate General*, and the friend was *Mr. Bond*. My information comes from a friend of Lord Sidmouth's; from a person who supported him in parliament upon grounds very weak, indeed, but entirely disinterested; from a person, in fact, on whose word I can place the firmest reliance; and I venture to give the statement to my readers as one upon which they also may perfectly rely. Before this fact, like the mists of the night before the sun, fly all the pompous allegations and professions, made by the NEAR OBSERVER in behalf of his chief. Where shall we now look, in the conduct of Lord Sidmouth, for the grounds of the "proud "and almost lost conviction in the people "that there exists a minister superior to the "charms of power and of office, and *reso-*"*lute to obtain justice for his country*, at the "expense of *importance* and *emolument*?" Where, in that conduct, shall we now look for the grounds of "the *sweet consolation* "of the public heart, that, in the cabinet "itself, the laws and the interests of a ge-"nerous people, bending under the weight "of their contributions, have found *a friend* "and a *powerful defender*?" The *time* when this refusal was made by Mr. Pitt is, however, a circumstance of vast importance; and, I venture to assert, upon the before-mentioned authority, that the refusal took place *after* the 8th of April and *before* the 12th of June, the day when the Addington's joined the Opposition, for the *first time*, in a vote against Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville; and when, I beg the reader to observe it, the motion for a criminal prosecution was made *by Mr. Bond*, who, together with the rest of the Addingtons, had, on the 28th of April, *opposed that very measure!* These facts (and they are, I repeat it, facts which cannot with truth be contradicted) require no illustration, except, perhaps, that which they naturally receive from the yet *undenied* statement of the Pitts and Dundases, namely, that the squabble in the cabinet, and the transient resignation, real or reported, of Lord Sidmouth, proceeded from Mr. Pitt's refusal to fill the late post of Lord Melville with *another friend of Lord Sidmouth*.—— Having stated these facts, let us spend a minute or two in an impartial inquiry into the reason of the case; let us take a review of the conduct of the Addingtons, from the beginning to the end, relative to Lord Mel-

ville, and see, whether, in that conduct, we find any thing hostile to the above stated facts.——The Pitts and Dundases having contended, that the vote of the Addingtons, on the 8th of April, for Lord Melville, taken into view with their conduct on the 12th of June relative to the criminal prosecution, presents a picture of incongruity that no one can reconcile to reason, until he hears of the *intermediate refusals*, on the part of Mr. Pitt, to gratify the pride, vanity, arrogance, or rapacity of the Addingtons; the partisans of the Pitts and Dundases having urged this with considerable force, the partisans of the Addingtons reply: "it *is not true*, that the "friends of Lord Sidmouth would not vote "Lord Melville guilty of a gross violation "of the law and a high breach of duty; "but, they were of opinion, that a com-"mittee would *bring out all the facts*; a "a line of conduct which every dispassion-"ate man now *regrets* was not adopted." As to this latter assertion, we might ask the writer, *where* he has discovered the grounds of it; and, I believe, ninety-nine persons out of every hundred will, without hesitation, declare it to be utterly unfounded in truth; for, the friends of justice; the real friends of the monarchy and of the people; the enemies of peculation and of the abettors and protectors of peculators; every man of this description, so far from *regretting*, that the subject was not referred to a Select Committee, on the 8th of April, rejoices, exults, that it was not, being fully convinced, that, if it had been so referred, Lord Melville would, at this day, have been First Lord of the Admiralty, instead of standing impeached at the bar of the House of Peers. "No," say the Addingtons, for "the Com-"mittee proposed *in the cabinet*, by Lord "Sidmouth and his friends" [this writer is pretty *intimate*, it seems] "was not a *pack-*"*ed* and *balloted* committee to *whitewash* "Lord Melville." What irreverent language these friends of "the King's govern-"ment," these "confidential and affection-"ate servants of his Majesty" can give way to now and then when they are out of place! "*Packed* and *ballotted* committee to "*whitewash* Lord Melville!" As there is no drunkard so noisy and so beastly as a water-drinker, when he does happen to break out, so, it would seem, that there is no factiousness so virulent as that of an ousted supporter of "the King's government." But, as to the principle, here pretty clearly inculcated, is it one, upon which the Addingtons *have acted?* The reader will remember, that, on the 23th of April, a *ballotted* committee was, in opposition to the wish of the Opposition, proposed by Mr. Pitt to inquire into the conduct of Lord Melville and of himself. On the 29th of April, it having been found that a *list* for the ballot had been sent round to the adherents of the minister, Mr. Whitbread complained of it, read the list, and moved, that, to send round lists of this sort, and for such a purpose, was a breach of the privileges of the House; but, there was a majority against him, and it was, of course, determined, that, to send round the list in question *was justifiable!* That committee, whose report has since afforded so much matter of comment in this work, and the history of whose formation will be found amply and accurately detailed in Vol. VII. p. 669, we will not, in imitation of the Addington writers, call a "*packed* commit-"tee;" but, it certainly was a "*balloted* "committee;" all the means, by which it had been formed, were fully exposed; all the principles connected with its formation were discussed; Lord Melville's conduct was to be the principal subject of its inquiries; whether it should be a balloted committee or not was put to the vote; and, reader, I beseech your attention to, and your retention of, the fact, that the Addingtons *did not oppose this balloted committee;* that they did not raise a single voice against it, and that, all of them who were present *voted for it!* Whether, therefore, the assertion, that, previous to, and on, the 8th of April, the Addingtons *intended* to obtain another sort of Select Committee, "not a *packed* and "*balloted* committee;" whether this assertion were dictated by the sincerity of the asserter, or by the most profound dissimulation, the public will, I imagine, be at no loss to judge.——In our retrospective view, we must not, however, stop at the 8th of April: we must even go back to the earliest epoch, at which, as we now know, Lord Sidmouth had reason to suspect a gross violation of the law and a high breach of duty, on the part of Lord Melville. Now, if we believe his partisans of the press, his lordship and his friends, but particularly his lordship and "his nearest connexions," amongst whom we may, doubtless, include Mr. Bragge, shudder with horror at the idea of screening Lord Melville, or, to use the word of their partisan, of "subtracting a great criminal "from justice;" and, in another place, we are, by the same writer, called upon to admire "the *self-devotedness* of an upright "statesman *that sends corruption to the tri-*"*bunals.*" But, while we most cordially agree, that the attempt to screen Lord Melville is an act well calculated to excite horror in every honest mind, and while we are

ready to admire the man, or the men, be he or they whom they may, who, from upright motives, have sent, or shall send, corruption to the tribunals; while such is our opinion and disposition, generally speaking, we must be permitted to, and it is our wish to ask, where was this horror, on the part of Mr. Addington (now Lord Sidmouth) and his friends when they first had reason to suspect, nay, when they discovered, the malpractices of Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter? In pages 4, 5, and 6 of the present volume, to which I beg leave to refer the reader, I have, I think, shown the absurdity of supposing, that Mr. Pitt could be ignorant either of the existence, the extent, the object, or the effect, of those practices; and, when it is considered, that Mr. Addington succeeded Mr. Pitt, in all his ministerial offices, the arguments, which I have there made use of, will, I am persuaded, be found equally applicable to him. But, we *know*, that, so early as the month of March, 1802, Mr. Addington possessed *proof*, that the office of the Treasurer of the Navy had, "for seve-" ral years," been so conducted as to give rise to great, scandalous, and injurious abuses; which abuses, he assured the House of Commons, *he would take care not to suffer any longer to exist*. This the reader will find clearly and fully established in the reports of the proceeding in the House of Commons, as given by Debrett, from the 4th to the 9th of March, 1802, a short account of which proceedings he will find in Volume VII. of the Political Register, p. 504 to p. 508. Mr. Addington's error upon that occasion, was, in the first instance, the error of innocence. He had no conception of the possibility of *government acceptances being dishonoured*; and, therefore, he boldly asserted, that the charge was false; an assertion for which every one would have excused him, if, when he had discovered the truth; when he had discovered that hundreds had, for many years past, been annually dishonoured in the offices under the Treasurer of the Navy; if, when he had made this discovery, he had come to the House, stated the case, and moved for an inquiry into the matter, every one would still have excused his first assertion; and, he himself will feel, that, if he had so acted, instead of making a series of miserable efforts to smooth over the facts brought to light by Mr. Robson, the Pitts and Dundases, whom he then "screened," would never have turned him out in 1804; and, which is of still greater importance to him, he will feel, that the doubts respecting his present motives would have received no addition of strength from his conduct at that time.——With the facts relative to the dishonoured acceptances in his mind must, one would think, have existed the knowledge of Mr. Trotter's having, for many years, and, indeed, during the whole of Lord Melville's treasurership, been in the constant practice of withdrawing money, naval money, public money, from the Bank, and placing it at Mr. Coutts's shop. To have connived at this practice has now been declared to be "a gross violation of the "law and a high breach of duty;" and, the partisan of the Addingtons is furious at the insinuation, that they would not join in that declaration, hinting, that they regarded it as short of the proper measure of severity. How, then, shall we account for Mr. Addington's total silence upon this subject all along from March 1802? It would require no common portion of credulity to qualify us for believing, that Mr. Bragge was Treasurer of the Navy from November 1801 to "*the summer*" (for that's the phrase) of 1802, without discovering, that Mr. Trotter withdrew the naval money from the Bank and lodged it at Mr. Coutts's; or that, discovering it, he did not communicate it to Mr. Addington.——Having introduced this part of Mr. Bragge's conduct, I must beg the reader to accompany me in a short digression, while I state more explicitly than I did before, what I mean, what I know, and what the public in general ought to know, upon that subject. In page 4 of the present volume the reader will have seen some remarks upon the immense sums funded in government bills by Mr. Coutts Trotter, brother of Mr. Alexander Trotter. That statement was made in order to shew the improbability there was of Mr. Pitt's being ignorant of the vast concerns of Mr. Trotter, and was not, as a correspondent appears to conceive, intended to implicate Mr. Coutts Trotter, in any manner whatever, in the concerns of his brother, as Lord Harrowby seems, by his evidence, to have been anxious to do; and, as to the banking business of Mr. Coutts and his partners, I by no means agree with his lordship, that profit to them must "*necessarily* arise" from Mr. Alexander Trotter having used their shop as the channel of his transactions: it is from persons who suffer their money to lie quiet for a little while that bankers gain, and not from those who are constantly speculating, and who are frequently in their banker's debt. But, observe, that this opinion of Lord Harrowby was given to Mr. Pitt in "the autumn" of 1802; and, Mr. Bragge put a stop to Mr. Trotter's practices, and prevented him from lodging any more of

the naval money with Mr. Coutts in "the summer" of that year: "*sometime* in the "*summer* of 1802." I have before observed upon these indefinite expressions in p. 8, to which I refer, and in which I pointed out the coincidence of Lord Harrowby's being talking with Mr. Pitt about Mr. Trotter's probable profits just at the time that Mr. Bragge was putting a stop to them, by ordering him to discontinue his withdrawing of the naval money from the Bank, and depositing it at Mr. Coutts's. I did, at the same time, pretty broadly hint at what appeared to me to be the *real cause* of that measure on the part of Mr. Bragge; but, I am not accustomed to content myself with *hints*, and, therefore, I now explicitly say what I know of the matter; which is this; that, when the contest between Sir Francis Burdett and the elder Mainwaring became pretty violent, Lord Hawkesbury, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, (Mr. Canning not having, as yet, been able to cause him to be turned out of that situation) sent to Mr. Coutts's, by the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Hammond, an order to transfer the deposit of the public *secret service money* from Mr. Coutts's to Mr. Hoare's, which order was immediately complied with; that, *at the same time*, Lord Buckinghamshire ordered his balance to be transferred from Mr. Coutts's to some other banker's, which order, it is said, could not be complied with, for the very simple reason of his lordship's having no balance to transfer; that, *at the same time*, and *not a moment before*, Mr. Bragge ordered Mr. Trotter to discontinue his practice of withdrawing naval money from the Bank, and lodging it at Mr. Coutts's. Now, will the reader believe, that all this could be done without the knowledge of Mr. Addington, now Lord Sidmouth, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister? He certainly will not believe it; and, therefore, from this digression, we come back to the main object of our inquiry, confirmed in our opinion, that so long ago as the summer of 1802, at least, Lord Sidmouth must have been well acquainted with that gross violation of the law and high breach of duty, at the attempting to screen Lord Melville from the punishment due to which his partisans now represent him as almost freezing with horror! Nor must we stop here. Though his lordship must, at that time, have known all, or nearly all, of what we common men learnt from the Tenth Report; though the discovery of Mr. Bragge must have come with great force upon a mind prepared by the discovery made by Mr. Robson's motion; still his lordship made no report upon the subject to parliament; made no representation relative to it, in any quarter; and, instead of discovering any degree of "horror" at the conduct of Lord Melville, Lord Sidmouth did, in a few months *after* Mr. Bragge had put a stop to the mal-practices, advise his Majesty to bestow on that person, a person "guilty of a gross violation of the law and a high breach of duty," the title which he now bears, which seats him in the House of Peers, and which has, from the time just mentioned, constituted him an hereditary maker of laws, to bind and rule that people whose treasure he had applied in the manner that we have seen. Nay more: Lord Sidmouth did, at a still later epoch, advise his Majesty, and from his confiding and gracious Sovereign, obtain for Lord Melville, in the name of his wife, for 19 years certain, or for her life if it should be longer than that, a lease of certain public revenues now worth about 400l. a year, and, after the death of a man named Fish Crawford, worth upwards of 1,000l. a year, the yearly rent which she is to pay to the public for which being less than *six pounds!* Besides which the lease gave her the arrears of the said revenue, which she immediately pocketed, to the amount of 3,583l. without paying the public on that account, a single farthing. The warrant granting this lease, conferring this excellent bargain for us, was signed by three Lords of the Treasury, namely, Lord George Thynne, of whom I have never heard but in this one instance in my whole life; N. Bond, the very gentleman, who, on the 12th of June, moved for a criminal prosecution of Lord Melville, and who has since resigned because his honour will not suffer him to remain amongst those who appear resolved "to waste the public treasure" and to "subtract Lord Melville from the hands of justice;" and, Henry Addington, he who now is Lord Viscount Sidmouth; he "whose self-devotedness sends "corruption to the tribunals;" he who, in order "to obtain justice for his country, "sacrifices importance, emolument, and the "beloved presence of an affectionate mas-"ter;' he whose conduct affords "the secret "consolation to the public heart, that the "*laws* and *interests* of a generous people "*bending under the weight of their contri-"butions*, have, at last, found a friend and "powerful defender;" whose real crimes, "in the eyes of Mr. Pitt and his friends, "are, independence of mind, consisting of "public conduct, a determined opposition "to corruption, to private jobs, and to po-

"litical depravity!"——Still, however, the lease to Lady Melville, the title to Mr. Dundas, all the strange silence between July 1802 and June 1805, and even the coalescing with Lord Melville last year; all would have been overlooked, had it not become evident, that the present resignation arose from the motives stated in the early part of these remarks; and that, in truth, the same cause, the very same low passion, *the love of place and emolument*, which has now produced open enmity to Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville, did before, when their support was necessary and could be so obtained, produce a tame submission to their will, though at the expense of the honour and interest of the nation. I do not deny, that there have been disputes between Lord Sidmouth and Mr. Pitt relative to Lord Melville: indeed, it is, on all hands, allowed, that there have been such disputes frequently; but, what the Pitts and Melvilles assert, what I am sorry to have received the assurance of, what I am sorry to give to the reader as my firm conviction, is, that the power of prosecuting, or of screening Lord Melville, was, on the one side, used as a means of extorting place and emolument from the other.—— So much for the Addingtons; the recent conduct of the other branch of the family must be reserved for the subject of a future page or two of this work; but, it is impossible to quit the subject, even for a week, without pointing out the gross and base inconsistency of the Pitt and Melville writers, who are now decrying the talents and character, and who are making a perfect jest of the *public services* of Lord Sidmouth, who, in fact, are reviving, with additional virulence, all the charges of "*incapacity* and *imbecility*," so unsparingly preferred, by them and by Mr. Pitt, about fourteen months ago, and so meanly retracted by them both in December and January last, to the great scandal of the people and the still greater degradation of the government. With such scenes before their eyes, it is impossible, quite impossible, for the people to repose any *confidence* in the ministry, or, for them to be animated with that public spirit, which is, at this time so necessary to support them under the burdens imposed upon them, and the dangers they have constantly before their eyes. We want to regain the consequence we have lost in the world; we want foreign aid against our terrible rival and enemy; we want an increase of power of every sort; but, more than all other power, we want that which is to be derived from the confidence of the people in the wisdom and integrity of those, to whom the conducting of the national affairs and the guardianship of the national treasure are entrusted; and, how are we to expect this confidence, while we see men, who have openly accused others of *incapacity* and *imbecility*, seeking and forming a ministerial junction with them; while we see those others, who had as openly accused their opponents of rapacity and corruption, joining with them in the cabinet, co-operating with them in the prosecution of the very measures that they had condemned, and, finally, quarrelling with, and separating from, them, amidst the din of mutual accusation and recrimination: while the people see these things, and while they cannot but perceive, that the motive, constantly prevalent, is, the love of rule and of emolument, a desire to be master of the people and the principal partakers of the fruits of their labour; while the people perceive this, what reason have we to expect from them that confidence and those cheerful exertions, with which there can be nothing that deserves the name of national calamity, and without which there can be neither national prosperity nor national security? The truth is, that the Pitt ministry, like the system which has arisen out of it, is worn out. It has been turned and patched and shortened and lengthened again; but, its threads stare from every seam; it is rotten; the nation are tired of it; and it must be thrown aside. Or, if there be any cause which prevents this, it is much better to let it drop from the carcass than attempt to patch it any more. "Men put not new wine into old bottles; neither put they new cloth upon an old garment." The reason is evident, and that reason ought to prevent, as it will prevent, any junction, or participation whatever, between the Opposition, or any part of it, and the Pitts and Melvilles, or the Addingtons, Such a junction would not only revive that much-to-be-desired confidence, of which we have been speaking; but, it would, in my opinion, completely destroy, absolutely annihilate, all the feelings whence such confidence arises. There would be left, in the breasts of the people, no hope, I do not say in any ministry that should be so formed, but in the present *race* of public men. The people would give themselves up to chance, and would welcome *any change* that could possibly present itself.

THE COMBINED FLEETS. —— So many rumours are afloat respecting the course which these fleets have taken, that there is, as yet, nothing that we can rely upon. That Lord Nelson may come up with and defeat them, there is every reason for us to wish,

and, perhaps, some reason for us to hope; but, even in that case, we should guard ourselves against the effects of a too sanguine reliance upon the consequences; for, we should never forget, that he who is disappointed in his expectations, makes for himself a calamity, which, but for his want of reflection, would never have existed. By a battle between Lord Nelson and the enemy, something might be obtained for glory; but, it would be naval glory, of which we have so much already: and, as to the question between the countries, it would hardly produce more effect, than might be expected from the throwing of stones at a rolling cannon ball. The mass of the French power is coming on with a momentum, against which a naval victory would tell as hardly any thing. Reputation, on that side, the French have none to lose; and, as to the loss of so many ships, with all Europe to furnish materials, as well as arsenals and workmen, it is, at most the loss of a twelvemonth. We may cut their nails, so that they cannot scratch us quite so hard; but, they will grow again; and they can well afford to wait; for, as has been observed by the planner of their system of warfare against us, "TIME, "whose scythe is now two-edged towards "England, is the friend and the guardian "of France." To what a situation, therefore, have Mr. Pitt's war and Mr. Addington's, or rather their joint, peace reduced us, when even the greatest event, which this country has been accustomed to look to, a splendid naval victory, can make hardly any sensible difference in our state! That war, and that ignominious peace, should never be considered separately; for, it was the system, and consequent fortune, of the war, that led naturally, and almost necessarily, to such a peace. And, will the nation repose confidence in the authors of those measures? Will foreign nations repose confidence in either of them; or in any persons, who should unite themselves with them?——Though there be no certain intelligence as to the course of the combined fleets, there appears to be no doubt of their having actually captured a considerable convoy of our West-India merchantmen. An event like this would have occasioned loud complaints at almost any former period of our history, even when the enemy disputed with us the empire of the sea. But, when the reader reflects upon the natural consequences of such measures as *the loan to the Grenada merchants*, and the "*accommodation*" *to Boyd and Benfield*, he will not be surprised at the silence of the mercantile world, upon all occasions when the ministry are deserving of censure. Let the owners of the captured ships cry, therefore! Let the sooty roofs of Lloyd's and the 'Change re-echo with their howlings! In that their loss affects the country in general we ought to regret it; but, inasmuch as it affects themselves only, it will be a subject of perfect indifference to every man who understands the real interests of his country, and who is indued with that public spirit which will lead him to exclaim, "perish "commerce, live the constitution." It is not hostility to commerce or to commercial men, indiscriminately, that is here intended to be expressed; but if there be either side, on which one must be misunderstood, or misrepresented, that is the safe one; and, for myself, I have no scruple to say, that, if, to preserve commerce, it be necessary that the minister should, when *he* thinks proper, make *secret* loans of the public money to members of parliament, and that too, without interest; or if being detected in having so done, to let him escape with impunity be necessary to the preservation of commerce; if that be admitted, then I say, perish all commerce! just as I would say, take from me your infamy and your gold, and give me back my honour and my rags! The smooth, the oily, the half-whispering, the pension-dispensing, the job-transacting clerks may sneer; but, to sentiments like these must the people of England return, or they and their children become the slaves of France.

MR. FOSTER.——It is curious enough, that, at this time last year, we had *two* Chancellors of the Exchequer for Ireland, and that now, it is matter of serious doubt, whether we have *one*. That MR. FOSTER did resign is certain; but, from the report of the Duke of Montrose being about to go to Ireland, as Lord Lieutenant, it is probable, that Mr. Pitt has, at last, taken courage to decide against Lord Hardwicke; and, to say the truth, this is the event to be desired; for the ministry in Ireland should be of a piece with the ministry in England. His grace of Montrose is so very fit a person to be a Ld. Lt. in the Pitt ministry, that, it is not surprising that only two other persons have ever been spoken of as being preferable to him, namely, Mr. Canning and Old George Rose. These are, doubtless, persons singularly well adapted to co-operate with Mr. Foster; but, taking all things together, I am of opinion, that that gentleman will prefer his Grace, as having somewhat more of dignity about him than either of the others, and as possessing certain other qualities, which, for

reasons too obvious to mention, may, for the present, as well be nameless.

NAVAL VICTORY.——Since writing the above, the news of SIR ROBERT CALDER's victory over the combined fleets has reached me. Upon such a subject there is no room for any thing but congratulation, except it be an expression of most severe mortification, that *Lord Nelson* did not come up with the enemy; and upon this topic I cannot refrain from quoting the ministerial newspaper, the SUN of Wednesday, and expressing my hearty concurrence in its sentiments. "We cannot close this article "without paying our feeble tribute of "praise to Lord Nelson, to whose uncom"mon vigilance, skill, and judgment, the "nation is greatly indebted on this occa"sion. Although he was not fortunate "enough to overtake the flying enemy, "yet *it was his* NAME *that drove them in* "*disgrace from the West Indies*; it is to *his* "skill and judgment, in ascertaining ex"actly the course which the enemy had "taken, and *his* prudence in sending off "dispatches home, and to the different "commanders on the coasts of both France "and Spain, that this fortunate rencontre "may be attributed, and that our fleets "have been so reinforced as to enable them "successfully to cope with the enemy." ——This opinion respecting the conduct of his lordship, in his pursuit of the combined fleets, and also respecting the weight and worth of his *name* in the deliverance of the West India Islands, the readers of the Political Register will remember to have heard expressed before. I do not, however, mention that circumstance with a view to lessen the merit of the above quoted acknowledgement, but, in order to shew, that, notwithstanding our disagreement upon other subjects; notwithstanding our political hostility, we all agree in the admiration of, and in our gratitude towards, this skilful, vigilant, gallant, and public-spirited commander. To all, and to every one singly, be praise given; but, chiefly to him, who has not only saved our possessions from being ravaged, and our name from being disgraced, but to whom it is to be ascribed, that others have had an opportunity of serving their country, and of distinguishing themselves.——Amidst our applause of Lord Nelson, and of our other brave countrymen concerned, we ought not to forget the detestation due to the perfidious and viperous American captain, by whose lies he was misled. An opportunity will offer for doing justice to the character of those sons of mischief and of malignity, the American captains, the greatest part of whom (I speak with some, but with few, exceptions) may, with perfect truth, be ranked amongst the most base and infamous of mankind. The numerous and glaring instances of partiality, which they showed towards our enemy during the last war, were, by many persons in England, ascribed to their *enthusiasm* in the cause of *liberty* and *republicanism*. Is *that* their motive *now?* No: they feel no enthusiasm in any cause but their own. They have but two passions, *love of themselves* and *hatred of us*. They hate England because they have injured her; because they have been guilty of base ingratitude towards her; and, because they *envy* their former fellow subjects, who, in spite of the Pitts and the Melvilles, are more happy and ten thousand times *more free*, than the Americans, with all their boasted independence. Let no man believe, that they are to be won by concessions: in this way we have tried them long enough: how many hundreds of acts of kindness have they received from that navy which they have now betrayed: and with how many hundreds of lies and of false oaths have they requited their benefactors!——No more of them at present; but, I certainly will take an opportunity of putting upon record some facts, which shall serve to make known to the world the true character of this malignant and despicable race of men.

Botley, Thursday, }
1st August, 1805. }

GENERAL BURTON'S COURT MARTIAL.

Sir,——As one of the members of Major General Burton's court martial, I think it my duty to make some remarks on that part of the speech in your paper of the 13th instant, stated to have been made by the Earl of Suffolk, wherein the case of General Burton is introduced. His lordship is said to have mentioned the following as the prominent features of it, viz. "On the first day of the trial, after examining whatever evidence the prosecutor could produce, the accusation was perceived not to be substantiated. The proof in support of the prosecution was closed. And had the court then proceeded to give their decision, the prisoner must have been acquitted. I am safe in venturing to add, that the wishes of the honourable members were, that such had been the event.—On the day following, by the advice of the judge advocate, fresh evidence was produced, consisting of a letter written by General Burton to the Commander in Chief in extenuation of his conduct, and containing a fair and manly ac-

knowledgment of the charge. With respect to such a mode of obtaining evidence, such an application of a private letter, I shall make no observation. I have simply mentioned the fact upon the ground of the charge being proved by the letter under the prisoner's own hand, the court martial pronounced their sentence, adjudging General Burton to be cashiered. But in consequence of the many illustrious and honourable testimonies borne to General Burton's highly meritorious military conduct, and to the esteemed worth and amiable virtues of his private character through life, the court martial transmitted so strong a recommendation to the clemency of that character, whose benignity even outshines the splendour of his rank, that though the sentence of the court was approved of as conformable to law, General Burton was immediately reinstated in his rank in the army, as well as in the command he held previous to his trial."——Some of the above assertions are certainly erroneous. With regerd to the first, I will not give an opinion whether or not the charge was substantiated on the first day by the evidence of Lieutenant Colonel George Cooke, of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards, at that time Assistant Adjutant General in the North West District, which situation, as he expressed, with a considerable degree of feeling, had imposed upon him the unpleasant duty of appearing as prosecutor. He was sent by Prince William Frederick from Liverpool to Chester to wait on General Burton, in order to ascertain whether or not the reports which had reached his ears were true that a duel had taken place between him and the Hon. Captain King. He was perfectly satisfied in consequence of the conversation he had with General Burton, that the duel had taken place on account of Captain King's having persisted in refusing to make an apology to General Burton for an improper letter which he had written, and made his report to Prince William according. Lieut. Col. Cooke is known to be a man of the most amiable character, of sound judgment, and of undoubted veracity. The other witnesses on the first day were the seconds and the surgeon who attended the duel. On being asked whether they knew any thing of the duel between General Burton and Captain King, they declined answering the question as by so doing they might criminate themselves in a court of law.——I beg leave however to state in answer to the second assertion that the proof in support of the prosecution was not closed on the first day. Several of the members thought that the evidence of the seconds and the surgeon ought not to have been with-holden, and as the Judge Advocate said he was not prepared for the objection, and seemed to have some doubt about it, the court adjourned an hour or two before the usual time in order to give him an opportunity of considering the matter, and of taking such advice on the subject as he might think necessary before the next morning. One of the seconds and the surgeon applied for leave to return into the court, but were told they could not be allowed to do so, as they might be wanted to undergo a further examination.——With regard to the third assertion, I shall give no opinion whether had the court then proceeded to give their decision the prisoner must have been acquitted or found guilty.——In answer to the fourth assertion: The wishes of the honourable members were certainly not that the prisoner should be acquitted for want of evidence, when it was notorious that he was guilty. Great indignation was expressed by them when the seconds and the surgeon declined answering the questions put to them, which they thought ill-judged, to say nothing more. For the honour of General Burton and for the satisfaction of the court and of the world it was material that no doubt should remain, and that a sentence should not be given contrary to truth.—— I consider it therefore to have been fortunate for General Burton, as well as an act of justice to Lieut. Col. Cooke, to the court martial, and to the public, that His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, having been informed by the Judge Advocate in general terms of what had passed in open court, not only thought it proper, but felt it his duty to put the court in possession of a letter from General Burton to His Royal Highness, in which he acknowledgedged he had sent a challenge to Captain King, and had fought him. This letter was not of a private or confidential nature, but on the contrary, such as might have been laid before the King.——I shall now proceed to the sentence of the court martial, and to the letter of the Judge Advocate signifying His Majesty's approval of that sentence.——The court martial, upon mature consideration of the whole matter before them, are of opinion, that the defendant, Major General Napier Christie Burton, is guilty of the charge preferred against him, viz.:—"That he did on or about the 27th "of November 1803, then serving as a "Major General within the North West "District, send a challenge to the Hon. "Richard King, a captain in the 6th Regi- "ment of Dragoon Guards, at that time

" under his command, and did on the 28th " day of the same month fight a duel with " the said Captain King," and do adjudge, that he be cashiered.——Having discharged this painful duty to their King and country, they with dutiful submission earnestly recommend him, the said Major General Burton, to the King's most gracious mercy for pardon, most humbly assuring His Majesty, by the oath which binds them to do justice, that had they individually been called upon by Major General Burton for his character, they should from their personal knowledge of him, as an officer and a gentleman, have given him most conscientiously the same character, as given by the many highly respectable witnesses, who have appeared in his favour.——Copy of a letter from the Judge Advocate General to His Royal Highness the Duke of York, Field Marshal, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces.——Judge Advocate General's Office, 16th January, 1804.——SIR,—Having had the honour to lay before the King the proceedings of a general court martial, holden at the Royal Hospital, at Chelsea, on the 6th, and continued by adjournments till the 9th day of this instant January, when Major-General Napier Christie Burton, Lieutenant-Colonel of the third regiment of Foot Guards, was tried upon the following charge, viz. " That he did, on or about the 27th of November last, then serving as a Major-General, within the North West District, send a challenge to the Honourable Richard King, a Captain in the sixth regiment of Dragoon Guards, at that time under his command, and did, on the 28th day of the same month, fight a duel with the said Captain King," and being found guilty, was adjudged to be cashiered, but was by the court humbly and earnestly recommended to his Majesty's mercy (a transcript of which sentence, together with the said recommendation is hereunto annexed.) I am to acquaint your Royal Highness, that his Majesty has approved the opinion and the sentence of the court martial, which his Majesty has commanded me to say, so great a breach of discipline imperiously demanded, and his Majesty has directed, that for the sake of example, the said sentence, together with his Majesty's approval, be notified in general orders; but in consideration of a faithful service during a period of twenty-nine years, and of an excellent character uniformly maintained by Major-General Burton, both as an officer and a gentleman, as testified by very many witnesses of high respectability, and in gracious compliance with the earnest supplication of the court-martial, his Majesty has been pleased to extend to the said Major-General Burton his royal pardon, and to direct, that he be restored to his command, as a Major-General within the North West District, as also to the functions of his commission of Lieutenant-Colonel of the third regiment of Foot Guards.——I have the honour to be, &c.——(Signed)—CHARLES MORGAN.——I am so well acquainted with the noble earl's candour and liberality, that whether he has been misrepresented, which I think most probable, or whether he actually made the above assertions, he will, I am sure, thank me for coming to this explanation, and for placing the matter in its true light. In the remaining part which I have quoted of the speech, I agree with his lordship with all my heart and with all my soul. So fine a character was given of General Burton by several illustrious and honourable persons, that it was observed in court, that he was to be envied for having been placed in a situation which gave him an opportunity of showing on what good grounds his numerous friends were so firmly attached to him. And I shall conclude by venturing to give my opinion of our most gracious Sovereign in the following words, taken from Major-General Burton's defence. ——In his Majesty's royal breast there is every quality by which a British gentleman and a British soldier would desire to be judged: the charity of a true christian, the benevolence of a most worthy man, and that spirit and bravery, the characteristic of his illustrious family, which cannot but impel his Majesty to pity and to forgive, what his sovereignty must reprove. —— WILLIAM THORNTON, *Major-General.*——*Feversham, 24th July*, 1805.

PUBLIC PAPER.

RUSSIA AND FRANCE.——*Note from his Excellency Baron Novosiltzoff, to his Excellency Baron Hardenberg, Minister of State. Dated, Berlin, July* 10, 1805.

When his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, in compliance with the wishes of his Britannic Majesty, had resolved to send the undersigned to Buonaparté, to meet the pacific overtures which he had made to the Court of London, his Russian Majesty was guided by two sentiments and motives of equal force, with which you are acquainted, namely, his desire, on the one hand, to support a Sovereign, who was ready to make exertions and sacrifices for the general tranquillity; and, on the other hand, to procure advantages to all the states of Europe from a pacific disposition, which, from the formal manner in which it was announced, must be considered as very sincere.——The existing disagreement between Russia and France

could have placed insurmountable obstacles in the way of a negotiation of peace by a Russian minister; but his Imperial Majesty of Russia did not hesitate, for a moment, to pass over all personal displeasure, and all usual formalities.——His Imperial Majesty of Russia availed himself of the meditation of his Prussian Majesty, when he requested passports for his plenipotentiary. He declared that he should only receive them on that particular condition, namely, that his plenipotentiary should enter directly upon a negotiation with the chief of the French government, without acknowledging the new title which he had assumed; and that Buonaparté should give explicit assurances that he was still animated by the same wish for a general peace which he had appeared to shew in his letter to his Britannic Majesty. ——This preliminary assurance was the more necessary, since Buonaparté had assumed the title of King of Italy, immediately upon receipt of the answer given by his Britannic Majesty to his letter of the 1st of January; a title which in itself put a new obstacle in the way of the desired restoration of peace.——After his Prussian Majesty had transmitted the positive answer from the Cabinet of the Thuilleries, that it persevered in the intention sincerely to lend its hand to a pacific negotiation, his Imperial Majesty of Russia accepted the passports the more readily, because the French government shewed so strong an inclination to transmit them.—By a fresh transgression of the most solemn treaties, the union of the Ligurian republic with France has been effected. This event, of itself, the circumstances which have accompanied it, the formalities which have been employed to hasten the execution thereof, the moment which has been chosen to carry the same into execution, have, alas! formed an aggregate, which must terminate the sacrifices which his Imperial Majesty of Russia would have made, at the pressing request of Great Britain, and in the hope of restoring the necessary tranquillity to Europe, by the means of negotiation.—Without doubt, his Imperial Majesty of Russia would not have insisted so strenuously on the conditions fixed by him, if the French government had fulfilled the hope that it would respect the first tie which holds society together, and which upholds the confidence of engagements between civilised nations; but it cannot possibly be believed, that Buonaparté, when he granted the passports, which were accompanied with the most pacific declarations, seriously intended to fulfil them; because, during the time which would necessarily elapse between the granting of the passports, and the arrival of the undersigned at Paris, he took measures which, far from facilitating the restoration of peace, were of such a nature, that they annihilated the very grounds of peace.——The undersigned, in recalling to the recollection of his Excellency Baron Hardenberg, facts with which the cabinet of his Prussian Majesty is very minutely acquainted, must, at the same time, inform him, that he has just now received from his Russian Majesty an order, dated the 9th (21st) June, to return the annexed passports immediately, and to request your excellency to transmit the same to the French government, with this present declaration, since no use whatever can be made of them in the present state of affairs.——The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to his excellency the assurance of his respect.

(Signed) N. Von Novosiltzoff.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

Naval Victory.——London Gazette Extraordinary.——*Copy of a Letter from the Hon. Admiral Cornwallis, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Channel, &c. to William Marsden, Esq. dated Fille de Paris, off Ushant, July 28, 1805. Right P. M.*

Sir,——I have the pleasure to enclose, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Calder, giving an account of his success against the combined squadron of France and Spain.——I have the honour to be, &c.——W. Cornwallis.

Prince of Wales, July 23, 1805.

Sir,——Yesterday at noon, lat. 43 deg. 30 min. N. long. 11 deg. 17 min. W. I was favoured with a view of the combined squadrons of France and Spain, consisting of twenty sail of the line, also three large ships, armed en flute, of about 50 guns each, with five frigates and three brigs; the force under my direction at this time consisting of fifteen sail of the line, two frigates, a cutter, and lugger, I immediately stood towards the enemy with the squadron, making the needful signals for battle in the closest order; and, on closing with them, I made the signal for attacking their centre. When I had reached their rear, I tacked the squadron in succession; this brought us up close under their lee, and when our headmost ships reached their centre, the enemy were tacking in succession; this obliged me to make again the same manœuvre by which I brought on an action which lasted upwards of four hours, when I found it necessary to bring-to the squadron to cover the two captured ships, whose names are in the margin *. I have to observe, the enemy had

* St. Rafael, 84 guns. Firm 74 guns.

every advantage of wind and weather during the whole day. The weather had been foggy, at times, a great part of the morning; and very soon after we had brought them to action, the fog was so very thick at intervals, that we could, with great difficulty, see the ship a-head or a-stern of us; this rendered it impossible to take the advantages of the enemy by signals. I could have wished to have done; had the weather been more favourable, I am led to believe the victory would have been more complete.——I have very great pleasure in saying, every ship was conducted in the most masterly style; and I beg leave here publicly to return every captain, officer, and man, whom I had the honour to command on that day, my most grateful thanks, for their conspicuously gallant and very judicious good conduct.——The Hon. Captain Gardner, of the Hero, led the van squadron in a most masterly and officer-like manner, to whom I feel myself particularly indebted: as also to Captain Cuming for his assistance during the action.——Enclosed is a list of the killed and wounded on board the different ships. If I may judge from the great slaughter on board the captured ships, the enemy must have suffered greatly. They are now in sight to windward, and when I have secured the captured ships, and put the squadron to rights, I shall endeavour to avail myself of any opportunity that may offer to give you some further account of these combined squadrons.——I have the honour to be, &c.——R. Calder.

List of the ships of the squadron under the orders of Vice-Admiral Sir Robert Calder, Bart. on the 22d of July, 1805.——Hero, Hon. A. H. Gardner. 1 killed, 4 wounded. ——Ajax, William Brown. 2 killed, 16 wounded.——Triumph, Henry Inmann. 5 killed, 6 wounded.——Barfleur, George Martin. 3 killed, 7 wounded.—Agamemnon, John Harvey. 3 wounded.—Windsor Castle, Charles Boyles. 10 killed, 35 wounded. ——Defiance, P. C. Durham. 1 killed, 7 wounded.——Prince of Wales, Vice-Admiral Sir R. Calder and Capt. W. Cuming. 3 killed, 20 wounded.——Repulse, Hon. A. K. Legge. 4 wounded.—Raisonable, Josias Rowley. 1 killed, 1 wounded.——Dragon, Edward Griffiths. None.——Glory, Rear-Adm. Sir C. Stirling, and Capt. S. Warren. 1 killed, 1 wounded.——Warrior, S. Hood Linzee. None.——Thunderer, W. Lechmere. 7 killed, 11 wounded.——Malta, E. Buller. 3 killed, 40 wounded.——Frigates. Egyptienne, Hon. C. R. Fleming. No return.——Sirius, W. Prowse. 2 killed, 3 wounded.——Frisk Cutter, Lieut. J. Nicholson. None.——Nile Lugger, Lieut. G. Fennel. None.——Total. 41 killed, 158 wounded.——(Signed) R. Calder.

War in the West Indies.——*Circular Letter sent by Order of the Commander in Chief, to the Custos or Chief Magistrate of Kingston. Jamaica, June* 14, 1805.

Sir,——King's House, June 14.—The Commander in Chief, having strong reasons to expect that the enemy will make an early and very serious attack upon this island, from the accounts he has just received, from the Governor of Barbadoes, of the great increase of their forces at Martinique, consisting then of thirty-one sail of the line, and probably a proportionate number of troops; his Excellency directs me to acquaint you therewith, and to desire that you will make it public in the parish of Kingston. I am also desired to inform you, that the whole of the militia are again ordered upon permanent duty until further orders, and that the Collectors and Comptrollers of the Customs have been directed to prevent even droggers and boats from passing along the coast at present.——You will be pleased to communicate the contents of this letter to the officers commanding the corps of foot and horse militia in your parish, that they may act forthwith thereupon, in the event of their not having received orders through the general officer of the district. ——I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.—— J. Tyrrell, Sec.——The Custos or Chief Magistrate of Kingston.

Parliamentary Debates.——The 4th Volume of the Parliamentary Debates, comprising the period between the 13th of March, and the 14th of May, 1805, will be ready for delivery on Thursday next. Every debate will be found given with the greatest accuracy; but particularly those relating to Lord Melville, and to the question respecting the Roman Catholics. The Appendix contains the Eleventh Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, making, together with the Appendix of the preceding Volume, the collection of those Reports complete, as far as they have hitherto been laid before the House of Commons.—The 5th Volume, which is in great forwardness, which will close the Debates of the Session, will contain the Financial Accounts, and other documents connected with the most important of the proceedings in Parliament during the Session.

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